

OTHER-DIRECTION, GROUP-ORIENTATION AND CONFORMITY
AMONG BUSINESSMEN AND ACADEMICIANS

by

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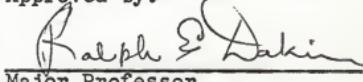
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CHAPTER I

THE PROBLEM

David Riesman, in his book The Lonely Crowd, has hypothesized a three-phase shift in the "social character" of man. He describes "social character" as "the patterned uniformities of learned response that distinguish men of different regions, eras, and groups."¹

Riesman follows the evolution of this social character, or "mode of conformity", from what he terms the phase of "tradition-direction", through a period of "inner-direction", to a newly evolving stage of "other-direction". Each of these periods he relates to a phase of the S-curve of population, that is, to the period of high growth potential, the period of transitional growth, and the period of incipient population decline, respectively.²

The stage of "tradition-direction" corresponds very closely

¹David Riesman, Reuel Denney, and Nathan Glazer, The Lonely Crowd: A Study of the Changing American Character (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1950), p. v.

²According to this theory, societies for centuries maintained a reasonably stable population with both birth rates and death rates at a high level. This era is referred to as the phase of "high growth potential", for any reduction of the death rate will facilitate rapid population expansion. This is exactly what happens in the second, or "transitional growth" phase, when increased productivity and improved health measures combine to reduce the death rate. Eventually the birth rate follows the death rate down (largely for social reasons) and the population again becomes stabilized in what is termed the phase of "incipient population decline". Ibid., pp. 7-8.

with the various concepts of the "traditional society" which have been elucidated by a number of writers and social thinkers.¹

Riesman does not deal extensively with this particular phase. This stage has occupied the long centuries of most of human history, man having evolved out of the traditional society only in recent centuries. The tremendous population growth latent within the high-birth-rate-high-death-rate phase of high growth potential has been realized with the lowering of the death rate, and man has entered the phase of transitional growth, with its emphasis on vast expansion, industry, and production of excess goods. This period of all-embracing expansion has given rise to the phenomenon of "inner-direction" in the social character of men, according to Riesman.

In the period of tradition-direction, man bases his behavior on the experience of his ancestors, his tribe, his predecessors in his occupation — on what has gone before and been more or less successfully done before — that is, upon tradition. This is a practical means of solving his problems in such a society, for his problems in the stable environment of this early phase are essentially not very different from those which confronted his predecessors.

In the phase of inner-direction, this is not the case. Society is now expanding on all fronts (e.g., technologically and ideologically). The problems with which man is faced are new problems, which the injunctions of the ancestors were never intended to solve. At the same time, contact with others is

¹For example, see: Robert Redfield, "The Folk Society," The American Journal of Sociology, LII (January, 1947), 293-308.

increasing at a remarkable rate, so that man cannot help but become aware, often for the first time, that there are other ways of doing things and solving problems. As new problems arise he is forced to look for new solutions, and his character must develop mechanisms which will allow him to do this. This is the inner-directed personality, which finds its orientation largely in internalized moral strictures and value standards inculcated in the individual as a child by his elders. These standards comprise the "psychological gyroscope", to use Riesman's term, which keeps the individual "on course" throughout life. It is an internalized system of direction in the sense that the programming which regulates one's life springs from within, rather than being imposed from without as for the tradition-directed individual. As Riesman says:

the source of direction for the individual is "inner" in the sense that it is implanted early in life by the elders and directed toward generalized but nonetheless inescapably destined goals.¹

As the rapidly growing society of the period of transitional growth begins to become stabilized (as it invariably has), man is no longer faced with unique and constantly expanding opportunities to exploit new physical frontiers. The natural environment is largely conquered, and increasingly the "problem" for man comes to be other people. He encounters many diverse groups having differing standards and values. The inner-directed man has fixed general standards and he is thus in trouble as he goes from group to group in an organized society in which roles have been

¹Riesman, op. cit., p. 15.

fragmentalized. He is not sufficiently adaptable.

Furthermore, the inner-directed parent is unable to understand the external (i.e., non-familial) social realities which confront the child at school, play, etc. This in turn creates a break-down in understanding and communication between the generations, and undermines the parents efforts to instill the "inner gyroscope". The child perceives the parent and his standards as unrealistic — which they are. But the child is then left without guideposts for his life, and hence feels insecure. As he seeks security, he perceives a major source of it in his acceptance by other people, and he then seeks this acceptance by adapting himself to the expectations of others as he perceives them. This is what Riesman believes is happening in contemporary American society, and is the major theme of his book.

The other-directed individual lives in a world where mobility, both social and geographical, is an established way of life. Thus the group of people with whom he is in contact is constantly shifting. It is not enough to internalize one set of guiding principles acquired from those around one — such a situation would be relatively simple and quite similar to the adjustment reached by the tradition-directed man. Rather, the other-directed person must remain flexible, modifying his standards as he modifies his groups, in order to "keep current". This is particularly the case among the upwardly mobile middle classes, who must conform to the standards of each new group as they progress up the social ladder. Riesman describes the other-directed individual in these terms:

What is common to all other-directeds is that their contemporaries are the source of direction for the individual — either those known to him or those with whom he is indirectly acquainted, through friends and through the mass media. This source is of course "internalized" in the sense that dependence on it for guidance in life is implanted early. The goals toward which the other-directed person strives shift with that guidance: it is only the process of striving itself and the process of paying close attention to the signals from others that remain unaltered throughout life.¹

It is important also to note that not only does the other-directed person pick up and respond to the signals from others, but he feels the need to enjoy this response. The inner-directed man, on the other hand, inasmuch as he did concern himself with conformity, tended to limit this to unimportant things, and enjoyment was irrelevant.

There are two major requirements for an individual to be able to adjust to a constantly changing set of standards in the manner suggested by Riesman. First of all, the individual personality structure must tolerate and in fact encourage such fluidity. Secondly, the individual must be acutely sensitive to the standards of those around him. Both of these conditions must arise out of childhood experience.

It is because of the shifting basic personality requirement that Riesman suggests a slow evolutionary development of other-directed character in people. Those social categories which need such a mechanism of adjustment the most (i.e., the new middle classes) will be first to develop in this direction and, more importantly, instill the other-directed personality trait in their children. And, as all one's life experiences continue to mold

¹Riesman, op. cit., p. 22.

one's personality, so he can continue to grow in other-directed capability. But the adult who started life as a relatively inner-directed person will never achieve a complete other-directed orientation, because he will have neither the total personality type nor the perceptual equipment to do so.

The ability to perceive the standards and values which surround one, to choose those which are important, and to incorporate these into one's own personality structure at least temporarily, is a skill which must be learned from earliest childhood. Riesman terms this ability a built-in "radar set", which receives signals from those sources it has been designed to monitor. Such a complicated mechanism, if it is to operate efficiently throughout life, must be a product of early childhood learning, especially in the peer group.¹

Riesman does not believe that the phenomenon of other-direction is limited to American society, or that it is universally present within that society. Rather, he feels that all highly industrialized Western nations are tending in this direction, but the United States is clearly in the lead. Even within this country, the phenomenon is not evenly distributed, being most prevalent among the young, in the larger cities, and among the upper income categories. He sees it as definitely an upper-middle class phenomenon at present, particularly among the "new" middle class (the

¹Harry Stack Sullivan, among others, has also emphasized the importance of peers in the socialization and psychological development of the child. See: Harry Stack Sullivan, Conceptions of Modern Psychiatry (New York: W. W. Norton and Company, 1940), pp. 37-39.

bureaucrat, salaried business employee, etc., as opposed to the banker, tradesman, small entrepreneur, etc.).¹

If a change in the basic American "social character" is actually taking place as Riesman suggests, this fact will undoubtedly have great effects upon the nature of our society in future years. We might ask, for example, what effect constantly shifting values might have on juvenile delinquency or general crime rates. Will the family as we know it be able to adjust to the changing personalities of its members as they adapt to changing environmental situations? What type of governmental structure and leaders will be accepted by an other-directed populace? How will they lead in the face of shifting demands? More basically, what effects on the stability of various institutions are implied by such a shifting character? Is it possible that a shift toward other-direction would be accompanied by a concomitant shift toward faddishness in institutional norms, and hence to an instability in the inherently most stable facet of society? Such questions serve to illustrate the potential impact of other-direction, if this phenomenon is actually developing.

This study seeks indications of the answers to two important questions: (1) To what extent is other-direction, as defined by Riesman, present in our contemporary American culture? (2) To what extent are variations encountered within the

¹Riesman, op. cit., p. 21.

population?¹

It attempts to establish the presence or absence of the phenomenon at one point in time in one small geographical area of the over-all American culture, and in two occupational groups within the sample community.

The main problem in this study is one of seeking a valid indication of other-direction. It is the basic assumption of the study that the degree of acceptance of the perceived behavior of peers in "ethically questionable" situations as the model for one's own behavior, provides such an indication. It is felt that the individual who would go along with the peer group standards in such situations would very likely do so in many other situations also. Some external judgment of a basic practice as "questionable" was employed.²

Subjects were chosen to represent two occupational categories within the community — academic men and local businessmen. Groups of ethically questionable practices in business and academia were presented to each subject. Each respondent was asked how prevalent he thought these practices were, whether he approved or disapproved of each and how strongly. Some of the practices represented rather extreme forms of dishonesty or deception, while others were more subtle. Parallel occupational

¹A third important question regarding other-direction, but one to which a single study conducted at one point in time is inherently unable to provide definitive answers, concerns the existence of trends. This constitutes a fertile field for further research efforts.

²For more on the selection of practices, see Chapter III.

practices were included from both fields, so as to present reference group and non-reference group issues for each category of subject, and thus provide a check on the extent of other-directedness when the subjects own group interests are and are not involved. (Riesman's theory suggests that the other-directed individual gains his values from his peer reference groups.) It is expected that, although the individuals will fall along a continuum, there will be significant differences between the two groups. It is anticipated that the businessmen will be more other-directed (in Riesman's peer group sense) than the college professors.

Reasons for the expected difference between the two groups should be mentioned. College professors as a group place considerable emphasis on academic freedom. It is an institutionalized ideal of the profession that individuals be allowed to formulate their own ideas and evaluations of the ideas of others, without coercion from either peers or their superiors in the academic hierarchy.¹ Thus it would be expected that they would also resist the more subtle informal coercion of peer group behavior and values.

Businessmen, on the other hand, owe no universal allegiance to an ideal such as academic freedom. Rather, they are a pragmatic group, seeking a profit, as they must to assure their continued existence under our economic system. They must appeal to many people for approval — and patronage. They would be under

¹"Academic Freedom and Tenure, 1940 Statement of Principles," American Association of University Professors Bulletin, XLVI, No. 4, (December, 1960), 410-411.

considerable pressure to adapt to the values and practices of their colleagues as well as the public at large — a situation highly conducive to other-direction and conformity. Their situation, in short, is conducive to their becoming unoriginal, public relations-organization oriented men in grey flannel suits.¹

It may be asked whether the expected differences between the two occupational groups are the result of occupational influences or if one's personality pattern rather works to influence his choice of a career. This question, though important in its own right, is not the primary focus of this study. That such differences are expected to exist, regardless of their origin, is the salient point.

The expectation regarding the influence of reference groups on the extent of other-direction is consistent with basic reference group theory. Sherif characterizes reference groups as "those groups to which the individual relates himself as a part or to which he aspires to relate himself psychologically". He goes on to state that "the major sources of the individual's weighty attitudes are the values or norms of the groups to which he relates himself, that is, of his reference groups".² Thus it must be assumed that one's reference groups would have more influence on his behavior than groups which have no referent value for the individual. If one's occupational grouping may be considered

¹William H. Whyte, The Organization Man (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1956).

²Muzafer Sherif, "Reference Groups in Human Relations," Sociological Theory, ed. Lewis A. Coser and Bernard Rosenberg (New York: The Macmillan Co., 1957), p. 261.

to form a reference group (and it would seem important to occupational success that one "relate himself" to his work group) then we must also assume that these reference groups will have some influence on the extent of other-direction exhibited by various individuals.

In addition to the evaluation of other-direction, the study includes scales for the measurement of two related concepts: group-orientation and conformity. Conformity is the broadest concept studied. It would include adaptation to many things in addition to peer or nonpeer groupings: to laws, fashions, customs, group practices, etc. At the other extreme, other-direction is a very narrow type of conformity: adaptation to peer group standards. Group-orientation falls somewhere between conformity and other-direction in scope, involving concern for the attitudes and values of groups of all kinds, not just the peer group. These may or may not be closely related to each other. The three concepts may be thought of as a series of concentric circles, with conformity as the largest outer circle containing both group-orientation and other-direction within its borders. The second circle, group-orientation, includes other-direction as well as other types of group orientation. The proportionate size of the three circles is unknown.

The first portion of the study is devoted to ascertaining each subject's estimate of the prevalence of each questionable practice being considered (the practices are not designated as "questionable" in the actual study) and his own personal reaction to each practice, as well as his reasons for feeling as he does

about each. The concurrence between a subject's perception of the degree to which a practice prevails and the degree to which he approves or disapproves is taken to be a measure of other-direction.

An indication of group orientation is sought through the use of a set of paired statements, with each pair forcing a choice between a group-oriented value or goal and one which is individualistic in nature.

A third basic element of the study consists of a set of personality inventory items, half of which are reported to correlate highly with the trait of "conformity", the other half with "nonconformity".¹

Four specific hypotheses are to be tested by these data:

1. Persons will exhibit a greater degree of other-direction with respect to the standards of their own reference groups than with respect to those of other reference groups.
2. Businessmen as a group will show a stronger tendency toward reference group other-direction than will college professors.
3. Businessmen will be significantly more group-oriented than will college professors.
4. Businessmen will be significantly more conformist than will college professors.

In addition to the evaluation of data in terms of these hypotheses, some incidental observations were made. Material was

¹Richard S. Crutchfield, "Conformity and Character," The American Psychologist, X, (May, 1955), 191-198.

analyzed by age, as it was felt that this might give some indication of the relative increase or decrease of other-direction through time. Because of the small number of subjects, no final conclusions can be drawn from these data, however.

Also, since it was noted that the group orientation items could be arranged along continua of "immediacy" and degree of privateness (this was not part of the original experimental design), it was decided to explore the relationship between immediacy of the social relationship, privateness of the situation, and the respondent's acceptance of group pressure. Such an exploration would seem to be a worthwhile unanticipated by-product of the research in view of the fact that Riesman's theory implies that acceptance of group modes is connected with immediacy of relationship in both the psychological and social senses.

CHAPTER II

REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

Historical Antecedents

David Riesman is just one of a long line of social philosophers who have proposed theories of basically changing societies and men. More specifically, Riesman deals with changing "basic social character", in which the locus of control for the individual's behavior shifts first from tradition to inner conviction, then to the behavior of one's contemporaries. Although the idea of an "other-directed" social character as such is original with Riesman, it is firmly grounded in his earlier phases of "tradition-direction" and "inner-direction", which in turn have roots extending back over at least a century of social thought. In order to fully understand the theory of "other-direction", it is necessary to examine some of these earlier theories and their relationship to Riesman's three-fold scheme.

One of the earliest social thinkers to objectively study and expound a basically changing society was Sir Henry Maine.¹

¹A very early concept of changing social character was Giambattista Vico's idea of the evolution of man's nature from "divine" to "heroic" to "human", as expressed in The New Science. Vico's thesis was based on a study of mythology rather than more objective scientific data, however. See: Giambattista Vico, The New Science, trans. from the 3rd edition, 1744, by Thomas Goddard Bergin and Max Harold Fisch (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1948).

For many years a professor of jurisprudence and legal history at Oxford and Cambridge, his analysis of the legal institution centered on the evolution of legal concepts. He insistently denied the existence of a single universal evolution of institutions applicable to all societies, but rather was concerned with the evolutionary development of English law as it had developed from diverse sources, particularly ancient Roman law. His idea of a changing society is based upon the shift in legal emphasis from "status" situations (specifically, family-based relationships, limited to what Linton would refer to as "ascribed status"¹) to "contract" situations. In the society emphasizing the former, the responsibilities and obligations arising out of one's familial relationships are sanctioned by the moral institution. In the society emphasizing the latter, legitimately enforceable relationships are specified in contracts sanctioned by the legal institution.² The first are embodied in slow-to-change social traditions; the latter are contained in legal documents and associated court interpretations.

Maine's characterization of the status society provides a concise statement of the basic tradition-directed society. It features strong primary group ties — especially familial — with the individual's status ascribed and mainly reflecting his relations (according to Maine) in the family. His characterization of

¹Ralph Linton, The Study of Man (New York: D. Appleton-Century Company, 1936), pp. 113-131.

²Henry Sumner Maine, Ancient Law: Its Connection with the Early History of Society, and Its Relation to Modern Ideas (New York: Charles Schribner, 1864), pp. 163-164.

the contractual society, while not specifically a statement of the inner-directed society, does relate to this concept. He described a society in which primary group ties generally were weakened — especially family ties. The individual's ascribed statuses became relatively less important. His statuses were, instead, mainly a result of contracts which he entered into freely. As Max Weber has pointed out, this arrangement was one of a man's working his way up by rational performances within a bureaucracy. These performances were contracted for, the statuses achieved. The only effective controls on the man's behavior were his inner conscience and the contract. This arrangement was rationalized and sanctified by the Protestant Ethic, which provided the basic elements for the inner conscience.

Ferdinand Tönnies noted this shift from status to contract in his discussion of the changing character of action and of associated relationships in society. He delineates two ideal types of willed actions and relationships on the basis of their degree of rationality. His Wesenwille type of "willed" action springs from instinct, inclination, feeling modified by custom and is associated with close unitary relationships such as are found in families and small communities. This conceptualization bears marked similarity to Maine's status society. Tönnies' Ktrwille type of willed action springs from the rational will (both as to means and ends) and is associated with impersonal, detached, loose relationships such as are found in large scale associations and large societies. These relationships continue only so long as they rationally serve the ends desired by each party. This emphasis on

types of actions and relationships as opposed to institutions in itself brings Tönnies ideas a step closer to Riesman's conceptualization. The Gemeinschaft culture, which Tönnies sees as the ideal embodiment of Wesenwille activity, is seen by him as being gradually supplanted by the Gesellschaft culture with its Kurwille activities. This process he sees as the essence of human social evolution.¹

Gemeinschaft and Gesellschaft, with their associated ideal types of actions and relationships, compose a much more complete and fully elaborated theory than that provided by Maine. Conceived of as ideal types, they provide essentially accurate descriptions of the tradition-directed culture (Gemeinschaft) and the inner-directed culture (Gesellschaft).² Tönnies conceptualization might also be thought of as an elaboration on Maine's status and contract societies, for these two factors are essential elements of the later scheme. The "model for conformity" in both Gemeinschaft and status societies is tradition, and the means of enforcement are informal sanctions. In both contractual and Gesellschaft societies, the influence of tradition has given way; the "model for conformity" is the contract, and the means of enforcement are legal sanctions. The bonds of tradition have been

¹Ferdinand Tönnies, Gemeinschaft und Gesellschaft, trans. and ed. Charles P. Loomis (East Lansing: Michigan State University Press, 1957).

²The relationship between Gemeinschaft and the tradition-directed culture and Gesellschaft and the inner-directed culture is similar to the relationship between the status society and the tradition-directed culture and the contract society and the inner-directed society as previously explained.

broken, and the individual is free to enter into any contract which the times may make desirable, subject only to the limitations imposed by the will of other interested parties and by his own conscience. These latter are inner limitations — the "inner-direction" of which Riesman later speaks. This is not to say that the contractual and Gesellschaft societies may be exactly equated with inner-direction. Rather, they provide an environmental situation in which an "inner gyroscope" makes sense. The shift to contractual society from status society, to Gesellschaft from Gemeinschaft, shows that society can and does change, and man can and does change with it.

Riesman pointed out¹ the essential similarity between "tradition-directed" society and such earlier concepts as "folk society", "status society", and "Gemeinschaft", with their mutual slowness of change, dependence on family and kin organization, and tight web of values. These factors all distinguished an earlier era from more recent civilization. Emphasis was on external behavioral conformity to those values and patterns sanctioned by the ancestors. Thus the source of values was outside of the individual, but also outside of the immediate environment and point of time. Hence these values were relatively stable, removed as they were from the possibility of immediate control and modification.

¹Riesman, op. cit., p. 13.

Recent Concepts

A product of more recent times is Erich Fromm.¹ A psychoanalyst by profession, Fromm de-emphasized orthodox Freudian psychoanalytic theory of the innate biological bases of human behavior; rather, he stressed man as the product of his cultural environment. He held that modern Western culture produced men who were emotionally isolated, felt themselves insignificant, and were doubtful about the meaning of life. In this view, he came very close to presenting Riesman's "other-directed" man, who lacks the strength of inner conviction. Fromm particularly focused on the political repercussions of this growing instability in life, concluding that it provided fertile ground for the totalitarian state, which would resolve man's insecurities by giving him all the "right" answers.

Fromm focused extensively on "character", both individual and social, and dealt at considerable length with the problem of interaction between the objective society and subjective individual (and collective) psychological needs, with the resultant social character.

The concept of social character is a key concept for the understanding of the social process. Character in the dynamic sense of analytic psychology is the specific form in which human energy is shaped by the dynamic adaptation of human needs to the particular mode of existence of a given society. Character in its turn determines the thinking, feeling, and acting of individuals.... Each ... concept and doctrine has an emotional matrix and this matrix is rooted in the character structure of the individual.²

¹Erich Fromm, Escape from Freedom (New York: Rinehart and Company, Inc., 1941).

²Ibid., p. 278.

The fact that ideas have an emotional matrix is of the utmost importance because it is the key to the understanding of the spirit of a culture. Different societies or classes within a society have a specific social character, and on its basis different ideas develop and become powerful.¹ (Italics mine.)

The social character results from the dynamic adaptation of human nature to the structure of society. Changing social conditions result in changes² of the social character, that is in new needs and anxieties.

Among others who have dealt with the question of basic personality patterns are Abram Kardiner and A. Irving Hallowell. Kardiner, in his book The Psychological Frontiers of Society,³ presented analyses of three cultures, the Comanche, the Alorese, and "Plainville, U. S. A.", in terms of the concept of "basic personality". According to this concept, certain basic elements of personality were inculcated by cultural patterns, sufficiently generalized so that virtually all members of the society were affected by them. Examples of such cultural practices would be the "good" mothering characteristic of western society as contrasted with the "poor" maternal care among the Alorese, who literally turned the child over to anyone and everyone for care and feeding from the age of two weeks, allowing the child no opportunity to develop an image of a mother who consistently relieved hunger and provided warmth and affection.

By the careful ethnographic examination of these cultures, combined with expert psychoanalytic interpretation, it was possible

¹Ibid., p. 279.

²Ibid., p. 298.

³Abram Kardiner, The Psychological Frontiers of Society (New York: Columbia University Press, 1945).

to describe a theoretical basic personality for each society, which was found to correlate closely with the actual personalities encountered.

A. Irving Hallowell¹ makes much the same point about basic personality patterns when he writes:

... membership in a given sociocultural system, or subsystem, subjects human beings to a common set of conditions that are significant with reference to the personality organization of these individuals.²

Contemporary Literature

Despite the widespread attention Riesman's work has received since its publication in 1950, there has been little empirical work done in an effort to test his hypotheses. A few studies have been made which involve some aspect of the problem of other-direction, but for the most part these have been inconclusive. For example, in a paper presented to the American Psychological Association Convention in September, 1954, E. G. Guba and J. W. Getzels reported on "The Construction of an Other-Directedness Instrument with Some Preliminary Data on Validity".³ In this study an instrument composed of thirty-eight slogans (nineteen supposedly inner-directed in orientation, nineteen other-directed) was administered to 183 Air Force Officers, to be responded to on

¹A. Irving Hallowell, "Culture, Personality, and Society," Anthropology Today, ed. A. L. Kroeber (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1953), pp. 597-620.

²Ibid., p. 606.

³E. G. Guba and J. W. Getzels, "The Construction of an Other-Directedness Instrument, with Some Preliminary Data on Validity," The American Psychologist, IX (August, 1954), pp. 385-386.

a six-point scale of agreement-disagreement. Those persons who scored as highly inner-directed on this scale were expected to be relatively unaffected by role conflict as compared with those who scored as other-directed (separate measures were available for assessing role conflict). In fact, both groups were affected by role conflict equally. The authors concluded that they were in reality measuring suggestibility rather than inner or other-direction.

Another study conducted by Arthur J. Brodbeck, Philip Nogee, and Albert Di Mascio in Boston involved child rearing practices among a group of upper-lower to lower-middle class mothers in a housing project. Each mother was queried regarding her actual practices, what she thought she should do, and what she thought her neighbors did. The conclusion reached was that the mothers were more inner-directed than other-directed in matters of discipline.¹

A third attempt at measuring perceived other-direction was reported by Michael S. Olmsted in 1957.² In this study a group of 190 Ivy-league girls' school students were asked to rate themselves, the average college girl, "most of the boys you know", particular friends, their mothers, and their fathers on a four-point continuum of other-directedness. In this case, the girls rated themselves as more inner-directed than the "average college

¹Arthur Brodbeck, Philip Nogee and Albert Di Mascio, "Two Kinds of Conformity: A Study of the Riesman Typology Applied to Standards of Parental Discipline," The Journal of Psychology, XXI (July, 1956), pp. 23-45.

²Michael S. Olmsted, "Character and Social Role," The American Journal of Sociology, LXIII (July, 1957), pp. 49-57.

girl". Mothers were rated as more other-directed than fathers. No real conclusions can be drawn from this study, however, the author points out, because of the very special nature of the sample.

In September of 1962, Sociometry published a report by Waltraud Marggraff Kassarjian entitled "A Study of Riesman's Theory of Social Character".¹ This study did attempt a rather large-scale investigation of the existence of other-direction among college undergraduates, graduates, and a sample of the general population, all from one of the nation's largest metropolitan centers. An instrument utilizing thirty-six two-choice items scored along a five-point scale was used to measure inner and other-direction. In this study definite evidence of other-direction was found, with younger students being more other-directed than older ones, graduate students more inner-directed than undergraduates, and both groups more other-directed than the general population sample (possibly a function of age). A second article in the same journal by Richard Centers,² which grew out of the same project, reported more fully on the study of a sample of the general population. Inner-other-directedness was found to be normally distributed among the population, and seemed to be highly correlated with age (younger people being more other-directed) but

¹Waltraud Marggraff Kassarjian, "A Study of Riesman's Theory of Social Character," Sociometry, XXV (September, 1962), pp. 213-230.

²Richard Centers, "An Examination of the Riesman Social Character Typology: A Metropolitan Survey," Sociometry, XXV, (September, 1962), pp. 231-240.

with no significant correlation with socio-economic indices employed. The strength and consistency of the inverse correlation of age with other-direction was interpreted by both Kassarjian and Centers as supporting Riesman's contention that other-direction is becoming increasingly prevalent in America.

Matilda White Riley, John W. Riley, Jr., and Mary E. Moore studied 2,500 ninth- and tenth-grade students in eight middle-class New Jersey communities.¹ Each subject was shown a series of twenty vignettes, brief descriptions of high school students exhibiting particular skills, attitudes and behavior. Each subject was asked to respond to four questions about each vignette: Do I want to be just like them? Do the well-liked kids in my grade want their friends to be like them? Do my parents want me to be like them? Would this help me later on when I am through school?

In response to the first of these questions, 85% of the boys (data are not given for the girls) emphasized the "popular-ity" vignette and 82% wanted to be just like the "friendly" vignette. These were the two vignettes specifically designed to measure desire for peer approval, and hence other-direction. They were followed in proportion of responses by three of the vignettes designed to measure the inner-directed desire for achievement.

The top five vignettes in terms of the proportion of responses were:

¹Matilda White Riley, John W. Riley, Jr., and Mary E. Moore, "Adolescent Values and the Riesman Typology: An Empirical Analysis", Culture and Social Character: The Work of David Riesman Reviewed, ed. Seymour Martin Lipset and Leo Lowenthal, (Glencoe: The Free Press, 1961), pp. 370-386.

Popular (85%): Jean and Bob are very popular with the fellows and girls in the class. Jean has a lot of girl friends who talk things over with her, and Bob is respected by the other boys.

Friendly (82%): Joe and Ann are friendly to everybody. They don't believe in sticking exclusively to just a few friends, but try to be nice to the whole class.

Student (79%): Paul and Miriam are good students. Although they are not book-worms or grinds, they get good marks because they spend quite a bit of time studying and are always "on the beam" when it comes to their work.

Student Ritualist (76%): Mike and Ella know that not everybody can get top grades. They spend most of their time studying, always get their assignments done on time, and are very reliable and neat in their work. Their motto is that nothing matters as long as you do the best you can.

Mediocrity (75%): Helen and Dick are what you would call all-round. They're pretty smart, but not too smart, good-looking, but not exactly the movie type. They play on the teams but aren't top athletes. In short, they seem to be pretty good at almost everything although not outstanding in any one way.

Those individuals who exhibited the other-directed characteristic in their responses seemed to limit it to the particularly adolescent situations. They did not perceive other-directed situations and responses as being appropriate and/or useful in adult life, but rather limited them to the adolescent peer group role. The more inner-directed norms were relatively highly valued in regard to total life situations.

Very few individuals were isolated in this study who exhibited only inner-directed characteristics in the situations under consideration. The two broad categories of response which emerged were rather the other-directed and what the authors termed an "inner-and-other-directed" type. These individuals seemed to

regard their internalized norms as entirely consistent with their desire for peer group approval. Slight conflict might be seen in the relative emphasis to be given these two factors, but it appeared to be minor.

Elaine Graham Sofer¹ made a study of 42 male college freshmen at Brooklyn College, for whom a variety of other scores relating to perception and conformity were also available. A questionnaire was developed and administered which included 98 items (later the questionnaire was shortened to include only 28 items) designed to measure other-direction as opposed to a rather generalized "self-direction" (including both inner-direction and autonomy, as described by Riesman) on the level of conscious value patterns. Results of this questionnaire were then correlated with a variety of the other psychological test measures which were available.

Scores on the 28 item short form of the questionnaire ranged from a low of 58 (inner-directed) to a high of 110 (other-directed), out of a possible range of 46 to 122. The median was 88, mean 86, and standard deviation 13.75. The distribution was approximately normal. It is evident that a large majority of these college age respondents were neither sharply inner- or other-directed.

Some of the other tests with which this test was correlated

¹Elaine Graham Sofer, "Inner-Direction, Other-Direction, and Autonomy: A Study of College Students", Culture and Social Character: The Work of David Riesman Reviewed, ed. Seymour Martin Lipset and Leo Lowenthal, (Glencoe: The Free Press, 1961), pp. 316-348.

include experiments regarding the autokinetic effect, Rorschach test, a personality inventory, and a modified F scale of authoritarianism.

Results of this study tended to show that some general underlying factor was influencing individuals on the measure of other-direction as well as their perception, social behavior and underlying personality trends. The source of this direction appeared to be broader than just other people, as Riesman's theory suggests, and to include elements of the non-personal environment as well. Sofer suggested that the factor operative here might better be termed "outer"-direction instead of other-direction. The highly specialized and small sample studied limited the findings to a suggestive function, but the general consistency with which these subjects responded on the various test situations indicated a need for further research in this area.

Most other work involving Riesman's typology is purely speculative and/or theoretical. For example, Rudolph Heberle in "A Note on Riesman's The Lonely Crowd"¹ criticized Riesman's correlation of other-direction with the population curve and specifically with the phase of "incipient population decline". Rather, he saw extensive migratory mobility, especially among the middle classes, as the related, and perhaps causative factor.

The studies mentioned above have dealt almost exclusively with student populations, with the exception of the Brodbeck,

¹Rudolph Heberle, "A Note on Riesman's The Lonely Crowd," The American Journal of Sociology, LXII, (July, 1956), pp. 34-36.

Nogee and Di Mascio study of child rearing practices and a portion of the Kassarjian-Centers project. The first of these two studies dealt with other-direction in a very limited context. This leaves only the Kassarjian-Centers study relating to other-direction among the general population. There has also been only one study attempting to compare different segments of the population on a single instrument measuring other-direction (the Kassarjian-Centers study, which compared a sample of the general population with students at various academic levels).

This study is designed first of all to measure other-direction in two occupational categories in the general population, thus attempting to provide some evidence regarding the extent to which supposedly contrasting segments of the society differ with regard to this significant characteristic. Secondly, it provides additional information regarding the prevalence of other-direction which, when used in conjunction with other studies, may yet produce a definitive test of Riesman's hypotheses. It also takes cognizance of Sofer's suggestion that the phenomenon of direction from the outside may involve more than just other people and explores three types of direction exterior to the individual: conformity, group orientation and other-direction.

CHAPTER III

METHODOLOGY

There are three main segments of this study, with one segment designed to measure "other-direction", one to measure "group-orientation", and the third a measure of "conformity". These three factors are not synonymous, but they appear to be closely related.¹

"Conformity" is the most general attribute. One can conform to anything; only when one conforms specifically to the values and expectations of one's peers does conformity become other-direction. The conformity test included in this study relates in part to conformity to group pressure in a psychological perception testing situation, and hence may be assumed to bear some relationship to other-direction.

"Group-orientation", though a narrower concept than "conformity", is still broader than the concept of other-direction. The other-directed individual internalizes the standards and values of others (his peers) simply because they are perceived to be the standards and values of those others. But one may be oriented toward group attitudes and values besides those of the peer group and for other reasons (such as the very practical reason

¹Chapter 4 presents findings regarding the relationships among these three factors which actually appeared.

that "it works") without necessarily being other-directed. We would expect that the other-directed person would exhibit such a group-orientation, however.

Other-direction has been described elsewhere, and is a primary concern of this study.

The Questionnaire

A measure of other-direction

The basic idea in the construction of this section of the questionnaire was to design an instrument which would provide a measure of the trait of other-direction, as described by Riesman. It was decided that the most relevant way of doing this would be to solicit judgments on various business and professional practices which could be considered of questionable ethical standing, along with each individual's perception of how prevalent the practice is. The reasoning here is that, if an individual endorses a questionable practice which he perceives as widely prevalent, that very prevalence plays some role in this acceptance. Hence the individual may be considered other-directed to some degree. On the other hand, if he rejects a practice which he perceives as prevalent, he is rejecting the peer influence and hence can not be considered other-directed. The essential factor is the degree of concurrence between the prevalence of the practice as he sees it and his opinion of the practice, regardless of where on the

respective scales his responses fall.¹

Practices selected for this study may all be considered deceptive to a greater or lesser degree. This type of practice was chosen for use because it is felt that the individual who would subscribe to the peer group standards in such situations would very likely do so in many other situations as well. An effort was made to secure pairs of specific practices, each pair representing a general form of deception, and with one practice of each pair applicable to the academic community, the other to the business community.

The major areas of deception included and the paired practices are:

1. Dilution of the product²

- a. Publishing the same research results in a number of different scholarly journals (here the idea is to obtain credit for several "publications" from

¹It is, of course, possible that an individual may have an opinion regarding a given practice which in degree of approval corresponds to his perception of the degree to which it prevails in his peer group (and thus, presumably, to the degree to which others approve), without that opinion being related causally to perceived group approval. It may be that his inner conviction merely corresponds with group opinion and practice, or that some extraneous factor is involved. However, when there is repeated congruence between an individual's opinions of diverse practices and his perceptions of their degree of prevalence (and presumably of group approval), the argument in favor of the presumed relationship with other-direction is stronger than the argument in favor of inner conviction or extraneous factors.

²U. S., Department of Agriculture, Food and Drug Administration, Notices of Judgement, 1908 to present.

a single piece of research).¹

b. Homogenizing milk (here the butterfat content is reduced, but homogenization conceals this fact from the consumer).

2. Stealing the work of others²

a. Authoring publications which incorporate the work of other scholars, without acknowledgement (that is, plagiarism).

b. Marketing a product which is virtually identical to an already patented product, without authorization (in more blunt terms, patent infringement).

3. Employing and/or promoting individuals without evidence of superior performance or specific qualifications for the particular position.

a. The hiring by a university of a "name" in research for a teaching position in preference to someone with broad teaching experience.

b. The hiring of an ex-general by a business firm for a public relations position, in preference to someone with professional public relations experience.

4. Failure to fulfill obligations.

¹Logan Wilson, The Academic Man (New York: Oxford University Press, 1942), pp. 210-216. Also: George Williams, Some of My Best Friends Are Professors (New York: Abelard-Schuman, 1958), pp. 200-206.

²Edwin Hardin Sutherland, White Collar Crime (New York: The Dryden Press, 1949).

- a. Moving to a new university or position while involved in uncompleted research or other unfulfilled academic obligations.
- b. Curtailing the manufacture of replacement parts in order to concentrate on the production of new products.

5. Use of sales "gimmicks" and other irrelevant promotional practices.

- a. Universities promoting or advertising their athletic teams.
- b. Putting free bonuses (for example, dishes or towels) in product packages.

6. Placing personal gain foremost, regardless of consequences.¹

- a. Taking short cuts in academic research in order to get out the results.
- b. Marketing a product before conclusive quality tests have been completed.

By the use of these pairs of practices, it is possible to compare the responses of each subject on those items involving his own reference group with his responses on non-reference group items.

The questions asked about each of the practices included in the schedule were: To what extent do you think each of these is practiced? (Responses were on a five point scale — nearly all

¹Logan Wilson, The Academic Man (New York: Oxford University Press, 1942).

do it, most do it, about $\frac{1}{2}$ do it, a few do it, hardly any do it.) How do you feel about each of these practices? (Responses were again on a five point scale — strongly approve, mildly approve, neither approve nor disapprove, mildly disapprove, strongly disapprove.) Why do you feel this way about it? (This was asked as an open ended question after the respondent had first been reminded what his response was.)

It was felt that any attempt to force respondents to answer this last item in a set pattern would limit the possible responses to an unacceptable degree. No short set of response categories for this question could include all possible reasons and their subtle nuances of meaning. Hopefully, the open-ended question would eliminate this problem.

Amount of concurrence between degree of perceived prevalence and degree of personal acceptance of all practices was taken as the index of the respondent's other-direction — irrespective of whether the practice was accepted or rejected. Thus, if the respondent answered an item with the greatest degree of prevalence (nearly all do it) and the greatest degree of acceptance (strongly approve), he obtained a maximum score for other-direction on that item (+2). Scores were tabulated for each item, with a possible range of scores from -2 (observed prevalence and personal opinion at opposite ends of the five point scale) to +2 (observed prevalence and personal opinion in the same position on both scales, irrespective of where on the scale that position was). Thus a score of +1 for a practice would indicate that the positions on the two scales were one interval apart, a score of 0 would

indicate a two interval spread, and a score of -1 would be indicative of a three interval divergence. (See Figure 1) Scores for the individual practices involving the subjects own reference group were totaled to provide a reference group other-direction score. A nonreference group other-direction score was also obtained for each individual.

The reference group other-direction score is the most significant from the standpoint of most nearly approximating the concept of other-direction. The peers involved in this score are business or professional colleagues, whereas the members of the nonreference group are peers only in the sense of being adult American males. The latter can hardly be considered a "group" in the sociological sense. Even with the reference groups in this situation, the use of the term is a bit strained — interaction between the individuals may well be limited primarily to indirect forms — publications, large group contacts, etc. — but presumably one's occupational peers do have some referent value for him. With the nonreference group scores no such presumption can be made — one can be assumed to relate to this group only on the basis of concurrent time, place, and culture. Thus the interpretive use which can be made of nonreference group other-direction scores is severely limited.

Group-orientation scores

In addition to gauging other-directedness on the basis of responses to the "practices" items, a set of eleven paired statements were devised and administered in an attempt to provide

II. To what extent do you think each of these is practiced?

Practices	Nearly All do it	Most do it	About ½ do it	A few do it	A few do it	Hardly Any do it
1. Universities promoting or advertising their athletic teams.	✓					
2. Marketing a product before conclusive quality tests have been completed.		✓				

III. How do you feel about each of these practices?

Practices	Strongly Approve	Mildly Approve	Neither approve nor disapprove. It makes no difference to you.	Mildly Disapprove	Strongly Disapprove
1. Universities promoting or advertising their athletic teams.	✓				
2. Marketing a product before conclusive quality tests have been completed.				✓	

Fig. 1. Examples of Scoring the Other-Direction Scales.

For item 1, this individual would receive the maximum score for other-direction (+2) because his perception of the prevalence of the practice and his opinion of it are in the same relative position on their respective scales. For item 2, his score would be 0, because there is a two-interval spread between the prevalence of the practice as he perceives it and his opinion of the practice.

another index of other-orientation (general group-orientation). Each pair of statements forced a choice between an individualistic statement and one which is oriented toward group acceptance, welfare or values. An example is:

Superior technical performance on the job is the most important thing in job satisfaction.	Getting along with one's associates is the most important thing in job satisfaction.
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The proportion of "group" responses provides a measure of adaptation to group controls over individual choice ("group-orientation"). The complete battery is included in the Appendix. Since such responses may indicate that the individual is taking his ideas and value cues from others, they may be indicative of the presence of a more general type of "other-direction" (one which is not restricted to peers).

The group versus individual orientation measured by this section is not precisely synonymous with other-direction, however. One might be disposed toward group values without having acquired these values from the peer group, but the fact of such an orientation would seem to predispose one toward other-direction. At any rate, a high degree of correlation would be expected.

Conformity scale

To provide an index of "conformity", a group of fourteen psychological test items was also administered. These items have previously been shown to correlate significantly with "conformity" or with "non-conformity" (seven items correlated highly with each

criterion).¹ In the earlier study, a wide variety of test instruments and subjective evaluations were available for use in validating the data, so it was felt that the inclusion of these items in the present instrument would strengthen it considerably. Items were randomly arranged, on a separate sheet of paper, and each subject was asked to check each item which he felt to be true.

"Conformity" is a much broader concept than is "other-direction. One may conform to many things — for instance, either to rigid traditional patterns or to peer group standards and values. In the former case it is closer to the "tradition-direction" which Riesman discusses as characteristic of the traditional society.² So conformity includes other-direction, but not only that. Thus, there might be a close relationship between conformity and other-direction, but not necessarily. This would be so only when peer group standards coincide with the broader societal norms.

In the case of the study involving the personality inventory items used in the present investigation, the conformity with which the items correlated was to group pressure in a psychological perception testing situation. Thus it may be assumed that these items would provide some relationship to other-direction.

The Sample

Samples of individuals within two occupational categories comprised the informants for this study. College professors were

¹Richard S. Crutchfield, "Conformity and Character," The American Psychologist, X (May, 1955), pp. 191-198.

²Riesman, op. cit., The Lonely Crowd.

selected as an occupation within the professional category, to be compared with local businessmen as an occupation within the managerial, proprietary, official category. Thirty subjects were interviewed in each group.

The first step in drawing the sample was to secure complete lists of business firms in a single midwestern community, and of college departments in a large state university located in that same community. This first step was taken to give all types of units (firms or departments) an equal chance of representation in the study. It is felt that there is quite possibly a difference in the extent of other-direction present between the top echelon people in the small and the large business. Also, there may be different ideologies between college professors in different disciplines (for example, between a philosophy professor and a professor of animal husbandry). In order to give an equal chance for the representation of all ideologies and attitudes, the sample was drawn by firm or by department, rather than by individuals (in which case the larger establishments would be over-represented). The second step was to draw random samples of informants among those occupying certain levels or positions within the firms and departments. The details for each occupational sample are discussed in the two sections following.

College professors

This sample was taken from the faculty of a large midwestern state university located in a community with a population of approximately 20,000. Only individuals holding the rank of Pro-

fessor, Associate Professor, or Assistant Professor were considered in order to limit the sample to those individuals who are fairly well established in and committed to an academic career. Heads of departments and other administrative personnel were eliminated from the universe, since their positions are primarily administrative rather than academic. Also excluded were those who were not physically present on the main campus during the Summer Session of 1962, as this was the period during which the interviews were conducted. This reduced the size of the universe considerably, as many professors are employed for the nine-months academic year only, and many others are engaged in research or extension activities throughout the state during this period.

Women were also excluded, as it was felt that sex might introduce a variable which could not be properly evaluated with the small samples involved. Also, there were few women in the business universe.

The Annual Budget of the University, was used as the source of names; this was the most comprehensive listing of faculty members in existence. Alternates were drawn for those who for various reasons were not available during the interview period.

The universe of professors meeting all specifications listed above totaled 296, distributed among 43 of the 48 departments of the university.¹ A table of random numbers was used to select the thirty departments and an individual subject within

¹Several departments in the School of Home Economics had no men on their summer faculties.

each department, to provide a 10.14% sample. In several cases where the individual selected was unavailable during the interview period, an alternate from the same department was interviewed.

Businessmen

A list of local businesses was obtained from the Chamber of Commerce, and supplemented by the City Directory. This provided a master list of 492 business firms, from which the sample of thirty was drawn, again by use of a table of random numbers. This provided a 6.09% sample. Individuals within the selected firms were either owner-operators, managers, or assistant managers. In most instances there was only one person who met this criterion of "rank", as well as the limitations of sex and availability mentioned above. In those few cases when more than one suitable person was available, the positions requested were alternated.

Administration of the Questionnaire and Problems Encountered

The questionnaire was administered during a personal interview with each of the sixty subjects. All interviews were conducted by the same person, in as nearly a standardized manner as was possible. Appointments were arranged to suit the convenience of the subjects; the total time required to complete the questionnaire ranged from fifteen minutes to nearly two hours — with most falling between thirty and forty-five minutes.

The time span covered by the interviews was from July 20, to August 15, 1962. This summer scheduling caused some problem

by reducing the number of persons available for the study, and also complicated the scheduling of appointments by the constant intrusion of vacations, house guests, and long week-ends for many subjects. On the other hand, many subjects felt free to devote more time to the interview, and in fact were more willing to grant time for the study, than would have been the case during the academic year. Summer is definitely the "slow season" in a college town, both among the business community and on the campus.

One problem present in any set of practices familiar to one group of respondents is its relative familiarity to other groups. A wide disparity was found between the two groups of subjects on this issue; almost all of the academic sample were at least somewhat familiar with each of the business practices included in the study, few of the businessmen seemed to fully understand the questions involving academic practices, let alone felt equipped to answer these questions. In such cases the individual was asked to express his "impression" or his "best guess" regarding the item. This problem was particularly acute regarding the prevalence questions, most respondents being more willing to express personal opinions than to judge factual matters without adequate information.

An external factor which arose immediately after the beginning of the field work, and which may have affected answers to one question, was the "thalidomide controversy". The tranquilizing drug thalidomide had been given wide publicity as the cause of deformity in a large number of births in Europe, where it had been made available and taken by many expectant mothers in the

early stages of pregnancy. An Arizona housewife, who was pregnant, learned of this, and also that some tranquilizers which her husband had brought home from Europe, and which she had taken, contained thalidomide (the drug had not been released for use in the United States except on an experimental basis.) She sought a legal abortion, but eventually had to go to Sweden to have it performed. This rather sensational situation provided newspaper headlines for many days during the interview period, and was cited by many subjects in responding to the questions about "marketing a product before conclusive quality tests have been completed".

Tests of Significance

The Chi-squared test of significance was used, along with the Pearsonian product-moment correlation coefficient for correlating the various segments of the study with one another. The F-test was also used to test differences in group means.

CHAPTER IV

RESULTS

In scoring the questionnaire, each subject received four scores: a reference group other-direction score based on six reference group practices; a nonreference group other-direction score based on six practices associated with the comparative occupational group; a group-orientation score based on the paired statements; and finally, a conformity score based upon the personality inventory items. These provided the basic data for the tests of the hypotheses of this study. The two samples have also been described and compared, utilizing materials on age and educational levels.

Socio-Economic Characteristics of the Samples

The two samples showed some variation as to distribution of both age and educational levels. Regarding age, the academicians ranged from 30 to 66 years (mean age 42.7 years, median 42.0 years), while the businessmen exhibited a range of from 29 to 88 years (mean age 47.0 years, median 45.5 years). It should be noted that the university has a mandatory retirement policy, which eliminated subjects above the age of 70 from the academic sample.

Because of the nature of the academic profession, it is to be expected that there would be considerable divergence between the two samples as to level of educational attainment. Such was indeed the case. The sample of college professors had a mean of

19.1 years of formal full-time education completed, with a median of 19.5 years.¹ The range was 16 to 22 years. The mean number of years of education completed for businessmen was 13.7, while the median was 14.0 years. The range was 8 to 18 years.

Other-Direction in Relation to Reference Groups

The first hypothesis asserted that individuals were expected to have higher reference group other-direction scores than nonreference group other-direction scores.

A comparison was made of the reference group with the nonreference group other-direction scores for both occupational categories. In the academic sample, 22 of the 30 individuals scored higher (i.e., more other-directed) on the nonreference group items than on the reference group items, while only five individuals scored higher on the reference group questions, and three scored even on the two sets of questions. In the business sample, 15 scored more highly on the nonreference group items while 12 scored higher on reference group items and three again scored equally on the two sets of questions. Obviously, these data do not support the hypothesis, and it is rejected.

An interesting finding was that a greater proportion of the academic sample had higher nonreference than reference group scores than did businessmen. It would appear that academicians were more discriminating than businessmen in distinguishing their professional from their nonprofessional roles — and less other-

¹It should be remembered that these were persons occupying the higher ranks in the academic profession.

directed in the reference group situation, contrary to the theoretical expectations regarding reference group influence. ($\chi^2 = 4.21$, $P < .20$)¹

Other-Direction and Occupation

The second hypothesis was that businessmen would be significantly more other-directed than college professors.

The reference group other-direction scores exhibited a pattern in the direction hypothesized. The academic group scores ranged from -2 to +9, with a mean of 4.5 and a median of 4.5. The business sample range was from -3 to +10, with a mean of 5.2 and a median of 5.0. This distribution was, however, not statistically significant at the .05 level ($F_{1, 58} = 1.173$).²

¹Because of the nature of the practices selected for use in this study, it must be anticipated that a large proportion of responses fall toward the negative end of their respective scales. That such is the case is indicated by analysis of responses of the five individuals with the highest reference group other-direction scores. Of the 30 responses for these five individuals, 21 involved either complete or near concurrence (+2 or +1 scores) at the negative end of the scales (four items strongly disapproved and perceived as "hardly any do it", seven items strongly disapproved and perceived as "a few do it", and ten items mildly disapproved and perceived as "a few do it"). This is considered to be just as indicative of the presence of other-direction as would be responses at the positive end of the scales — the pressure for conformity to peer group norms is present regardless of the nature of those norms and, in the case of concurrence, is not being resisted. The individual is accepting the group norms, even though in many cases it would be to his advantage to accept those practices which are not commonly practiced by his peers. The fact of concurrence is the basic criterion for the purposes of this study, regardless of the degree of approval or disapproval.

²Nonreference group other-direction scores showed a range of -1 to +10 for the academic sample with a mean of 6.5 and a median of 7.0. For the businessmen the range was from -1 to +10 also, with a mean of 5.9 and a median of 6.0. It is obvious by inspection that this difference is not statistically significant at the .05 level.

Group-Orientation and Occupation

It has been asserted in this study that businessmen would be significantly more group-oriented than academicians.

The two groups being studied showed more marked differences on the group-orientation items (paired statements) than on the other-direction scale. In the academic sample, out of a total of 329 choices, 243 were for the "individual" responses, whereas only 86 were for "group" responses. In the business sample, there were 204 "individual" responses as against 126 "group" responses (total 330). Individual scores were also computed by subtracting the number of "group" responses from the number of "individual" responses for each subject. These scores ranged from -3 to +11 in the academic sample ($\bar{X}_a = 5.2$) and from -3 to +7 in the business sample ($\bar{X}_b = 2.6$). The combined mean for both samples was 3.9. Twenty-two academicians had scores falling above the combined mean (that is, more "individualistic" scores than the average), as compared with ten businessmen having above average scores ($\chi^2 = 9.64$, $P < .01$).

Businessmen were found to be significantly more group-oriented than college professors. The third hypothesis is strongly supported by these data.

Conformity and Occupation

The section of the questionnaire consisting of fourteen personality inventory items showed the greatest difference between

the two sample groups being studied.¹ For the academic sample, there were 98 non-conformity responses as compared with 34 conformity responses (total 132). For the business sample, the relative frequency was reversed, with 59 non-conformity responses as opposed to 81 conformity responses (total 140). Individual scores were again also computed, subtracting the number of "conformity" responses from the number of "non-conformity" responses for each person. The range for academicians was from -3 to +6 ($\bar{X}_a = 2.0$), for businessmen from -6 to +4 ($\bar{X}_b = -0.7$). The combined mean was +0.65, with 24 academicians and seven businessmen scoring above the average (i.e., more non-conformist than the average) ($\chi^2 = 19.28$, $P < .001$).

Summary of Hypotheses

A summary of the results as related to the four hypotheses of the study contrasting the two samples is presented in Table 1.

Correlations of Scores

Conformity and group-orientation

Analyzing the conformity and group-orientation scores by individuals in each sample, a definite lack of correlation is noted ($r_a = +0.08$, $r_b = +0.18$).² It will be recalled that the

¹Any number of responses could be checked by any individual, and number of responses ranged from 0 to 9, with the full range being represented in the business sample (modal number of responses 6), and a range of 2 to 9 being represented in the academic sample (modal number of responses 3). In each case the modal class contained 11 persons.

²Subscript _a refers to academicians, subscript _b to businessmen throughout this chapter.

TABLE 1
SUMMARY OF TESTS OF HYPOTHESES

Hypothesis	Academicians	Businessmen
More other-directed in reference group situations than in non-reference group situations	Less other-directed in reference group situations than in non-reference group situations.	Less other-directed in reference group situations than in non-reference group situations.
Businessmen more other-directed than academicians.	Less other-directed than businessmen.	More other-directed than academicians.
*Businessmen more group-oriented than academicians.	Less group-oriented than businessmen.	More group-oriented than academicians.
*Businessmen more conformist than academicians.	Less conformist than businessmen.	More conformist than academicians.

*Significant at most conservative levels (.05 or better).

differences between the two total samples were statistically significant in both cases, with the businessmen as a group scoring as both more conformist and more group-oriented. The theoretical expectation is that the two scales would exhibit a definite positive correlation, in view of the criteria for standardization of the conformity items (see Chapter 3). This lack of correlation is surprising.

The nature of the two scales was examined in detail in a attempt to account for this result. It was ascertained that the conformity scale items dealt with generalized situations — "the rules", "all laws", "a problem", "something wrong" — without mention of specific situations or persons involved. Thus, these may

well be reacted to in an abstract frame of reference. All group-orientation items, except one, however, presented specific situations in relation to specified individuals (the exception, "the good of the group"). Moreover, this scale was heavily weighted toward private and semi-private behavior involving only the individual himself or members of his immediate family. Possibly, then, the individual who is a definite conformist in abstract public situations allows himself to be more of an individualist in his personal private life. The reverse could also be true, with the public non-conformist being more group-oriented in his personal life than one might expect. This could account for the divergence in individual scores on the two scales.

Other-direction and group-orientation

Correlations between reference group other-direction and group-orientation scores were somewhat higher than those for conformity and group-orientation — but inconsistent in direction for the two samples ($r_a = -0.29$, $r_b = +0.31$).

Other-direction in this study was measured in relation to one's occupational reference group, and concerning certain specific practices which are of questionable ethicality. This frame of reference is considerably narrower than the situations dealt with on the group-orientation scale. As noted above, that scale was weighted toward the relatively personal and private situations. Apparently, group-orientation in the one situation did not carry over into other-direction in the other. In the case of college professors, the low correlation was negative; those who are most

other-directed in their professional situations may tend to be less group-oriented in their personal lives.

Other-direction and conformity

In correlating reference group other-direction with conformity scores, a perplexing situation was noted. There was virtually no correlation between these two scores for academicians ($r_a = +0.05$), but for businessmen it was relatively high — and negative ($r_b = -0.51$). This may be interpreted as an indication that the businessman who is other-directed in his business dealings tries consciously (and/or unconsciously) to reject abstract societal norms (i.e., conformity). The reverse could also be true — the abstract conformist is individualistic and more inner-directed in concrete daily business affairs.¹ At any rate, these two basic characteristics seem to be either independent of each other or, possibly, negatively related.

The correlations summarized

It is apparent that the elements of conformity, group-orientation and other-direction were not closely related, as was originally expected. As was noted in Chapter 1, conformity is a much broader concept than either group-orientation or other-direction, while other-direction itself is the narrowest of the three. Apparently there is so much more to group-orientation than other-direction that the latter is not indicative of the extent of the former in an individual's character. The same is true of

¹The first type of individual is indicated by these data as occurring more frequently than the second type.

conformity and group-orientation.

Other Findings

Other-direction in relation to age

Analyzing the two samples by age groups with three age categories (below age 40, ages 40 to 49, and age 50 and over), it is seen that the mean reference group other-direction scores for the two groups in the youngest age category are virtually identical ($\bar{X}_{a_1} = 4.60$, $\bar{X}_{b_1} = 4.57$). For businessmen the mean score is about the same for age group 40-49 ($\bar{X}_{b_2} = 4.46$), while for the academicians it declines somewhat ($\bar{X}_{a_2} = 4.25$) before returning to very nearly its original level for the oldest age group ($\bar{X}_{a_3} = 4.75$). The mean score for the oldest group of businessmen, on the other hand, rises sharply ($\bar{X}_{b_3} = 6.70$). These means, by age, do not vary significantly at the .05 level, however. ($F_{2,27} = 1.94$) (See Fig. 2).

In interpreting these data, it may be inferred that academic men do not change in degree of other-direction over the course of their careers. There is some indication here that businessmen become somewhat more other-directed over the course of their careers. This is contrary to Riesman's theory, which holds that younger people are more other-directed than are older people. Perhaps at the younger age levels the occupationally differentiating factors have not yet had an opportunity to make themselves felt. Or perhaps the effect of middle-class pressure toward other-direction from childhood has been to create an increasingly homogeneous population with each succeeding generation, thus

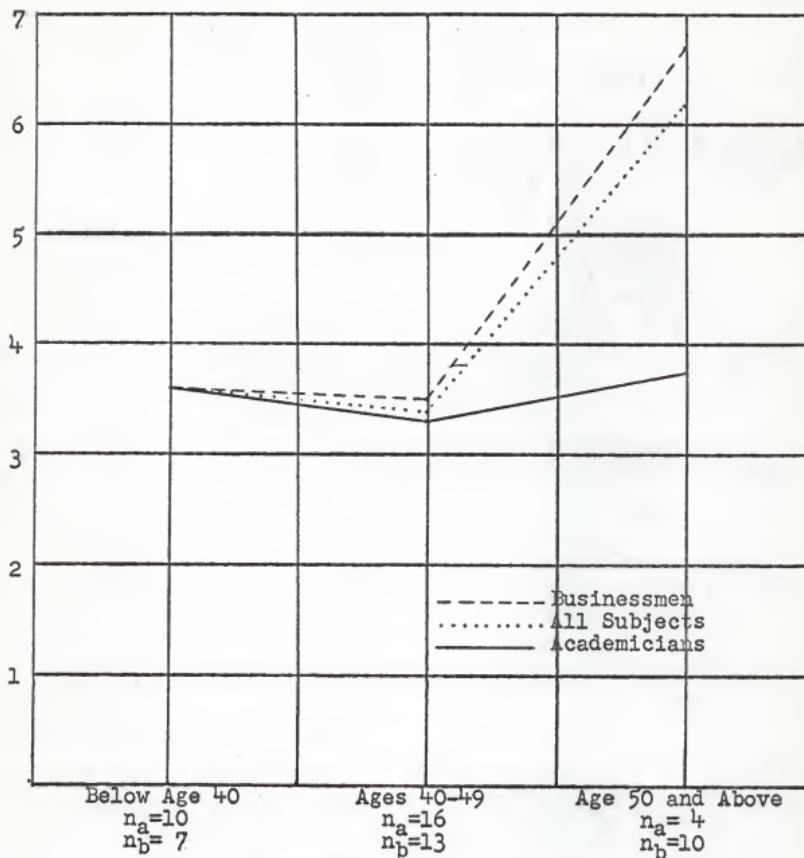


Fig. 2. Mean Reference Group Other-Direction Scores, By Age Group.

reducing the differences between occupations at the younger age levels. At any rate, the low level of significance for this finding does not permit the drawing of conclusions on the basis of this information alone.¹

Group-orientation in relation to age

These items were also analyzed for the two separate samples by age group. For businessmen the extent of group orientation shows a steady rise with age, from $\bar{X}_{b_1} = 4.00$ below age 40, to $\bar{X}_{b_2} = 4.15$ for ages 40 to 49, to $\bar{X}_{b_3} = 4.40$ for those age 50 and over. For academicians, in the other hand, the scores rise at first, then drop sharply ($\bar{X}_{a_1} = 2.50$ below age 40, $\bar{X}_{a_2} = 3.38$ ages 40-49, $\bar{X}_{a_3} = 1.75$ above age 50). The differences in means, by age, for academicians are not statistically significant at the .05 level, however ($F_{2,27} = 1.96$) (See Fig. 3).

Conformity in relation to age

These scores were also broken down by age group. Businessmen and academicians both showed an increase in conformity from the lowest to the middle age group, with the academicians continuing this trend at the oldest level while the older businessmen showed a decline in the conformity scores. Academicians mean scores ranged from 1.00 (below age 40) to 1.13 (ages 40 to 49) to 1.50 (age 50 and above). Businessmen's mean scores were 2.14

¹Dividing a total sample of sixty into more than two groups for purposes of comparison creates a problem of small numbers in the various categories. In this case, only four individuals fell into the "academicians over age 50" classification. With a category this small involved, only very tentative conclusions can be drawn regarding any results obtained.

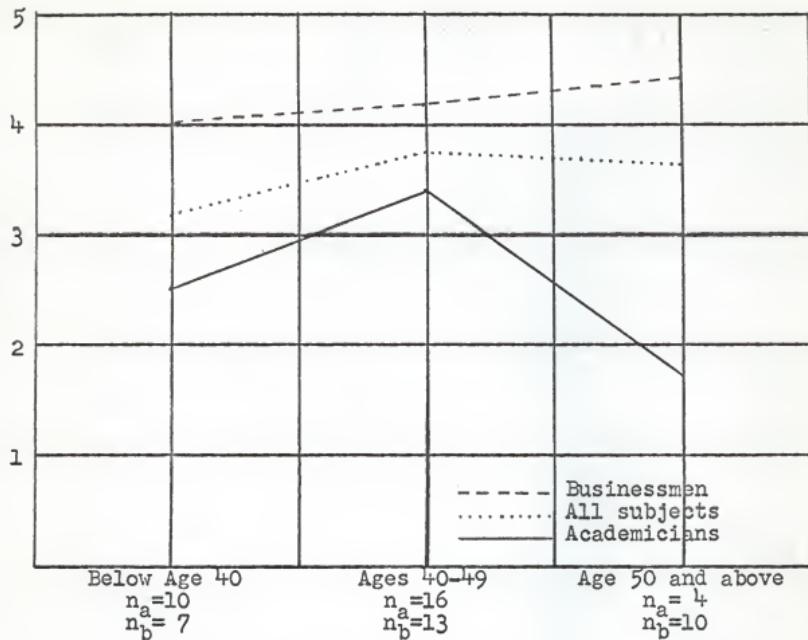


Fig. 3. Mean Group-Orientation Scores, By Age Groups.

(below age 40), 3.08 (40 to 49), and 2.60 (50 and over). Again, the group showing the most variation did not show a statistical significance at the .05 level (businessmen $F_{2,27} = 1.16$) (see Fig. 4).

Group-orientation and immediacy

Considering the group-orientation items as a whole, it may be seen that they deal with varying situations ranging from private and semi-private affecting a single individual to semi-public and public affecting greater and greater numbers of people. The

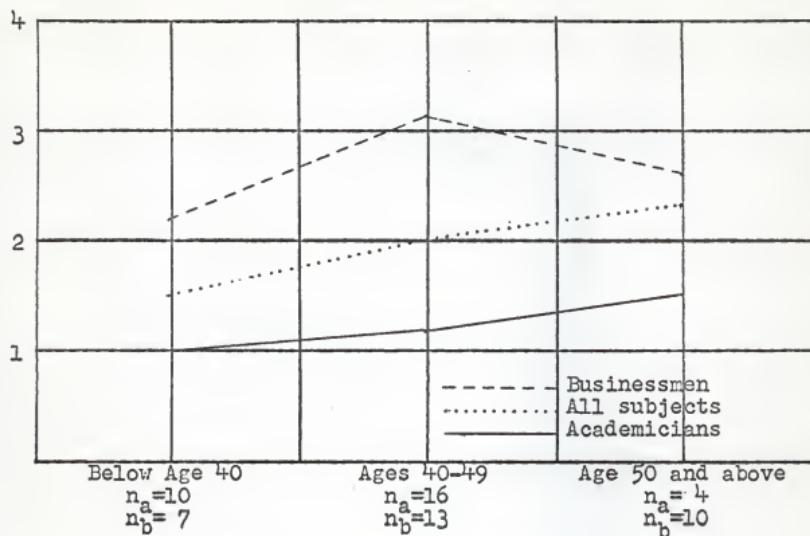


Fig. 4. Mean Conformity Scores,
By Age Group.

extent to which individual or group-orientation is manifest seems to vary in relation to both the degree of immediacy of the relationship and involvement of the public. The theoretical implications of such variation may be considered.

Situations may be considered to fall roughly along a continuum from those directly involving no one else and completely private to those involving relations with decreasingly immediate people, but increasing numbers of people. Such situations would include (at least in the American society): nuclear family, neighborhood, primary work group, formal associational, community, societal, and intersocietal situations roughly ordered from most to least immediate and from the fewest to the greatest numbers of

people involved. One may then ask what relationship would be observed between degree of immediacy and involvement of people and group-orientation.

Relationships falling along this continuum of immediacy could be considered to form something of a pyramid based upon frequency and closeness¹ of interaction, with the individual himself at the apex. Certainly one's personal self is the most immediate relationship any of us know. "Interaction" with one's self is constant and close. Immediately below this in the pyramid would fall one's family, with whom one interacts daily and to whom one is close both with respect to proximity and affinity. Neighbors are also the object of some interaction, though not typically so frequently as family. Neighbors are close primarily in the sense of proximity, with all this implies concerning social acceptance. The work group is typically characterized by daily interaction and for many could be a more "immediate" relationship than the neighborhood. In this case, however, residential proximity and thus social acceptance are implied at a lower level than with neighbors. Work groups are at best drawn from certain natural areas with a community or, typically, from the community at large or even several communities. Still less immediate would be the various more-or-less formal voluntary associational situations in which the individual is involved — his labor union, his church, his lodge, etc. Here, interaction is typically infrequent

¹"Closeness" is here employed with reference to two dimensions: proximity in a residential sense and affinity in a psychological sense.

and proximity is at the natural area or community level. Community, societal and intersocietal situations are even more remote. Here direct interaction is decreasingly frequent and proximity increasingly remote.

Numbers of people involved would also range along this same continuum in a reasonably consistent manner: a single person, the family (which in our contemporary American culture seldom exceeds five or six persons), the primary work group and/or the neighborhood, the voluntary associations (which may easily range from twenty or so to a hundred or more), and ultimately to the societal and intersocietal levels (involving masses numbering in the millions). This dimension is reasonably consistent with frequency of interaction and closeness.

It is to be anticipated that immediacy would be an important determinant of group-orientation. Simmel has observed that the small group with its close ties and extensive involvement produces much more ideological unity than the large group with its loose ties and segmental involvement.¹

Considering this element of immediacy, there are two alternative approaches to answering the question of its effect on the degree of group-orientation exhibited by an individual in various situations. First, one might believe that a person is more concerned with the opinion which those closest to him hold of him, while being relatively unconcerned with the image he projects to those more distant. In this case we would expect a

¹Kurt H. Wolff, The Sociology of Georg Simmel (Glencoe: The Free Press, 1950), pp. 87-104.

greater degree of group-orientation in those situations involving close association than in the more impersonal, abstract situations. By the adoption of the mores of his close associates, one seeks to achieve the approval of those whose approval matters most.

An alternative point of view would contend that the individual is already reasonably secure in the affections and opinions of his most immediate associates, hence has no need for the adoption of external standards to "prove" his worth. In such "immediate" relations, he would not be particularly responsive to group pressures, for he would already feel secure in these most important relationships. Only as he moved away from the intimate, primary-type group and into the impersonal world of secondary associations would the need for overt signs of approval become necessary, for in the latter type relationships he would not have the basic security of knowing he was accepted for his own true self. In this situation, he would become increasingly susceptible to outside influences as the situation becomes increasingly remote from his inner self.

This latter point of view would seem to be consistent with Riesman's hypothesis. He contends that inner-direction increases in society as man moves away from the traditional state of society and into an impersonal, highly mobile, secondary-type society — from *Gemeinschaft* to *Gesellschaft*, to use Tönnies' conceptualization. As the proportionate importance of impersonal associations continues to increase, with a concomitant decrease in the proportion of primary group associations, the moral strictures and rigid conscience of the nineteenth century inner-directed

man no longer suffice as a basis for human behavior. In the newer impersonal situations, there is reward only for overtly manifest symbols of "success" in terms of peer group demands, with inner motivations, feelings and standards being effectively masked. To use Riesman's analogy, the trend is from guiding one's behavior by the gyroscope of conscience to a radar-based system of detecting the ideas and reactions of others. This is the rise of a special instance of group-orientation, which is peer-group-orientation or other-direction.

Following this second line of reasoning, then, one would expect to find relatively low levels of group-orientation in those personal and private aspects of life which involve only one's self and/or one's most immediate primary group associations. As one moves along the continuum of relationships to the public and impersonal spheres of activity, the degree of group-orientation would be expected to increase.

If the paired statements used in this study are arranged along a continuum of immediacy using as criteria the frequency of interaction, closeness, and size of the groups, this relationship does appear to be substantiated. The more immediate the relationship, the lower the level of group-oriented response. Most of the exceptions are not stated in such a way as to fit easily the criteria used (it should be noted that the items were not designed with this test in mind).

Item 1, regarding the sacrificing of one's personal values for the "good of the group" occupies a rather unique position in this study. This is a rather outspoken statement of the essence

of general group-orientation, and as such is overwhelmingly rejected by the subjects in each category. The sacrifice of personal values apparently is not yet quite respectable, even if it is a reality.

Table 2 presents the data for items as arranged along a continuum of immediacy.

This conceptualization was not designed into the instrument and some items are inadequate from this perspective. Therefore, an adequate test of the relation between immediacy and group-orientation was not possible. However, study of the data did indicate a relationship as implied in Riesman's work. A definitive test of this hypothesis would appear valuable, but it is beyond the scope of this study.

Reasons given for opinions held

In examining the open-ended questions regarding the reasons an individual gave for holding the opinion he did of a specific practice, individual responses were placed in one of five categories: traditional (reference to the past as justification for the present opinion), value (reference to the position of the practice in the value scheme of the individual), pragmatic (reference to the utility of the practice as a means to some specified end), people (reference to the expectations, practices, and/or values of other people), and "other" (miscellaneous). All responses were coded independently by three sociologically qualified individuals.¹ Of those responses which were coded the same by two or

¹A professor and two graduate students.

TABLE 2

FREQUENCY OF RESPONSE TO GROUP-ORIENTATION ITEMS
IN ORDER OF IMMEDIACY, BY SAMPLE

Responses		Individual-oriented Items	Group-oriented Items	Responses	
Acad.	Bus.			Acad.	Bus.
30	30	A person should read what he enjoys, regardless of whether or not it is popular among his friends and associates.	A person should read what is popular among his friends and associates, regardless of his personal likes and dislikes.	0	0
28	25	In selecting a car, a person should consider only his own personal tastes.	In selecting a car, a person should carefully consider whether or not it fits his position.	2	5
30	29	A minister ought to be allowed to select his own car, even if his parishioners disapprove.	A congregation ought to be able to restrict the choice of a minister's car in the interest of appearances.	0	1
27	22	I want my wife to wear the most flattering clothes possible, even if they are not of the latest style.	I want my wife always to be stylishly dressed in the latest fashions, even if they are not the most flattering.	3	8
21	20	Parents should establish their own definite rules for their children without regard to how much freedom other children are allowed.	Parents should take into consideration the amount of freedom other children are allowed when deciding on limitations for their own children.	9	10
22	19	Children should be brought up to make their own decisions.	Children should be brought up to consult their friends and associates whenever possible before making a decision.	8	11

TABLE 2—Continued

Responses		Individual-oriented Items	Group-oriented Items	Responses	
Acad.	Bus.			Acad.	Bus.
19	4	Most problems can be solved by an individual more adequately than by a committee.	Most problems can be solved by a committee more adequately than by an individual.	10	26
19	17	Superior technical performance on the job is the most important thing in job satisfaction.	Getting along with one's associates is the most important thing in job satisfaction.	11	13
8	4	What a person does with his own property is entirely his own business.	A person should consult his neighbors before doing anything with his property which might affect them.	22	26
12	9	Each enterprise should be allowed complete freedom of production, regardless of its effect on the national economy and the general welfare.	In the interest of the general welfare, the national economy should be stabilized at a high level, even if this means restrictions on some industries.	18	21
27	25	The individual must be able to maintain his personal values in spite of group pressure.	The individual must be able to sacrifice his personal values for the good of the group.	3	5

three of the judges, 46.25% were value responses, 32.36% were pragmatic, 1.53% were people, and 20.28% were "other". No responses were interpreted as traditional. Analyzing these reasons by occupational group, the following results were obtained: academicians gave somewhat more "value" and "other" responses, while businessmen gave more "pragmatic" and "people" responses. ($\chi^2 = 8.43$ P <.10). Table 3 shows the frequency of the various responses.

TABLE 3

NUMBER OF RESPONSES IN EACH REASON RESPONSE
CATEGORY, AS CODED BY TWO OR THREE
OF THE THREE CODERS, BY SAMPLE

Category	Academic Sample	Business Sample
Traditional	0	0
People	4	7
Pragmatic	104	129
Value	171	159
Other	86	60
Total	365	355

It should be noted that each of the coders independently commented on feeling that the responses represented a high degree of rationalization on the part of the subjects. The interviewer had very much of this same feeling at the time the interviews were being conducted. If these responses were indeed rational-

izations, using the term as defined by Hartly ("the process of finding socially acceptable reasons for behavior that springs from socially unacceptable origins or has socially disapproved goals")¹, then the real reasons for the opinions expressed must be considered to be perceived as socially unacceptable. This may also account for the very small proportion of group-oriented responses on the paired statement involving the sacrifice of one's personal values for the "good of the group". It may be socially unacceptable to admit a group-orientation when it is at the expense of personal goals.

It is of course possible that these responses were entirely "accurate" (i.e., sincere) in terms of the perceptions of the individual.² He may have subjectively perceived the stated reasons as the real reasons for his actions and had no realization of the other-directed basis for his thinking (if it was, indeed, other-directed). In this case, the responses would be entirely accurate statements of the beliefs of the individual regarding the reasons for his actions — the question then is whether these perceptions were reasonably objectively accurate.

The frequency of "people" responses was much lower than the extent of other-direction indicated by the other-direction scores. This would indicate that, while other-direction was operative in forming the opinions of these people, it was either not

¹Eugene L. Hartley and Ruth E. Hartley, Fundamentals of Social Psychology (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1955), p. 304.

²Muzaffer Sherif and Carolyn W. Sherif, An Outline of Social Psychology (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1948).

recognized by them or was being suppressed by rationalization. The American tradition of individualism is still receiving lip service, even where it is no longer operative.

CHAPTER V

SUMMARY

Examination of Hypotheses

On the basis of the findings of this study, two of the original hypotheses are substantiated, a third must be rejected, and the fourth receives inconclusive support.

Reference groups and other-direction

In both samples, more individuals scored higher on the nonreference group portion of the other-direction scale than they did on the reference group items. This is contrary to the original hypothesis. The difference was particularly marked in the academic sample, in which 22 out of the 30 subjects scored higher on the nonreference group items, as compared with five who scored higher on the reference group questions (the remaining three scored even on the two sections). The businessmen were more evenly divided, with 15 scoring more highly on the nonreference group items, 12 on the reference group portion, and three with equal scores on the two sections. Although this difference was not statistically significant, ($P < .20$), because of the direction of the results, the first hypothesis, that persons will exhibit a greater degree of other-direction with respect to the standards of their own reference groups than with respect to those of other reference

groups, must be rejected.

Other-direction and occupation

Differences between the two occupational groupings on the trait of reference group other-direction were in the direction anticipated, with businessmen having a mean score of 5.2 compared with the academicians mean score of 4.5 (out of a theoretical range from an inner-directed -12 to an other-directed +12). This difference was not statistically significant. Thus the second hypothesis, that businessmen as a group would show a stronger tendency toward other-direction than college professors, is not statistically substantiated, but the results were in the direction hypothesized.

Group orientation and occupation

Group orientation was found to differ significantly between the two occupational groups. Businessmen chose the group-oriented response over the individual response 126 times, as compared with 86 such choices for the college professors. Only ten businessmen scored as more individualistic than the average of the two groups, as opposed to 22 academicians ($P < .01$). Thus the third hypothesis, that businessmen would be significantly more group oriented than college professors, is substantiated.

Conformity and occupation

The two occupational groups included were found to differ significantly as to the degree of conformity exhibited, as measured by the personality inventory items included in the question-

aire. Businessmen checked 81 conformity responses against 59 non-conformity responses, as compared with 34 conformity responses and 98 non-conformity responses among the academicians. Twenty-four academicians scored as more non-conformist than the combined average, as opposed to seven businessmen ($P < .001$). Thus the fourth hypothesis, that businessmen will be significantly more conformist than college professors, is substantiated.

Other Findings

Age and the tested characteristics

Each of the three characteristics studied showed some differences among the various age groups in one or the other sample, or both. In no case were these differences statistically significant, however. The small number of subjects in some of the six age-occupational groupings limits the usefulness of this analysis.

Group-orientation and immediacy

Frequency of response to the group-orientation items was found to correspond very closely to a ranking of the various items along a continuum of immediacy (based upon frequency and closeness of interaction) and numbers of people involved. This relationship was nearly identical for each of the two sample groups, despite differences in magnitude of the various responses between the two groups. The questions used in this section were not designed to test this relationship and therefore this data cannot be considered to be more than suggestive of a potentially fruitful area for further research.

Intercorrelation of factors studied

One of the most puzzling results of the study is the lack of positive correlations between the factors of reference group other-direction, group orientation, and conformity when considered on an individual basis. Particularly in the case of group orientation and conformity, which both showed highly significant differences between the two groups in the same direction, this lack of correlation is disturbing ($r_a = +0.07$, $r_b = +0.18$).

On the basis of this finding, it must be assumed that the factors of conformity, group orientation, and reference group other-direction are not as closely related as was originally supposed. But another factor must also be considered; the questions used in measuring the three factors are of different magnitudes. The items used to measure conformity deal primarily with generalized, relatively abstract ideas and hypothetical situations. Those included in the group orientation measure deal with specific situations and people, and are weighted toward the personal and private areas of one's life. The reference group other-direction scale is concerned only with occupational reference group behavior. These differences probably account for some portion of the lack of correlation between the various factors, though how much it is impossible to say.

The lack of correlation of these items raises problems which can be significantly explored only by another study designed with this problem in mind. Certainly its existence is one of the important findings resulting from this study.

Significant Findings and Implications

Other-direction, group-orientation and conformity were all found to exist among both businessmen and academicians in this small mid-western community. The correlations between these factors on an individual basis, however, were surprisingly insignificant. The two occupational groupings differed significantly in the direction hypothesized in their scores on the group-orientation and conformity scales, but not significantly on the other-direction scale.

Probably the most significant finding is this lack of correlation between the three factors on an individual basis. This raises a wide range of questions concerning the nature of each of the three concepts and their inter-relationships. It appears that other-direction is but a very small part of the broader concept of group-orientation, which in turn is only a tiny portion of the broadest concept, conformity. There is so much more to the broader idea in each case that the narrower segment has virtually no predictive power. Further examination of the inter-relationships among the three concepts is necessary before these low correlations are to be fully understood.

Reference group other-direction scores were generally lower than the nonreference group other-direction scores, contrary to the theoretical expectation. This finding, if substantiated by further study, would have significant implications regarding the basic nature of other-direction.

The infrequency with which individuals gave "people" oriented responses when asked why they felt as they did about the

various practices, despite the presence of considerable other-direction as measured by the instrument, is another important finding. The apparent widespread prevalence of rationalization is indicative of unwillingness of persons to admit that the traditional American ideal of individualism has been supplanted by an other-orientation.

The ordering of group-orientation responses along a continuum of immediacy is potentially an extremely significant finding arising out of this study. As this was not a part of the original experimental design, the findings must be regarded as suggestive, but further empirical verification of the relationship would provide a valuable contribution to the body of sociological knowledge.

Further Study Needed

The relationship among the factors of other-direction, group-orientation, and conformity in individuals, should be investigated more thoroughly. The lack of positive correlations among these factors in the present study certainly raises the question of how closely related these phenomena really are, and how individuals relate to the several concepts.

The divergence between reference group and nonreference group other-direction scores should be the object of further study, for this involves the very basis of the concept of other-direction.

The question of immediacy as related to the group-orientation items should also be investigated further.

APPENDIX A
THE QUESTIONNAIRE

We are conducting research on the way people feel about certain practices which are known to occur in the United States. Would you please give us your frank opinion about each of these practices? Your name will not be used in any way.

I. Identifying Information

1. Name _____
2. What is your age in years as of your last birthday? _____
3. What do you do for a living? _____
4. How many years of formal, full-time education have you completed? _____

II. To what extent do you think each of these is practiced?

Practices	Nearly All do it	Most do it	About ½ do it	A few do it	A few do it	Hardly Any do it
1. Universities promoting or advertising their athletic teams.						
2. Marketing a product before conclusive quality tests have been completed.						
3. Marketing a product which is virtually identical to an already patented product, without authorization.						
4. The hiring by a university of a "name" in research (that is, a person with a long list of publications to his credit) for a teaching position in preference to someone with broad teaching experience.						

Schedule No. _____

-2-

Practices	Nearly All do it	Most do it	About ½ do it	A few do it	Hardly Any do it
5. Putting free bonuses (for example, dishes or towels) in product packages.					
6. Authoring publications which incorporate the work of other scholars without acknowledgement.					
7. Homogenizing talk.					
8. Moving to a new university or position while involved in uncompleted research or other unfulfilled academic obligations.					
9. The hiring of an ex-general by a business firm for a public relations position, in preference to someone with professional public relations experience.					
10. An individual publishing substantially the same research results in a number of different scholarly journals.					
11. Curtailing the manufacture of replacement parts in order to concentrate on the production of new products.					
12. Taking short cuts in academic research in order to get out the results.					

III. How do you feel about each of these practices?

Practices				Neither approve nor disapprove. It makes no difference to you.	Mildly Disapprove	Strongly Disapprove
	Strongly Approve	Mildly Approve	Mildly Disapprove			
1. Universities promoting or advertising their athletic teams.						
2. Marketing a product before conclusive quality tests have been completed.						
3. Marketing a product which is virtually identical to an already patented product, without authorization.						
4. The hiring by a university of a "name" in research, (that is, a person with a long list of publications to his credit) for a teaching position in preference to someone with broad teaching experience.						
5. Putting free bonuses (for example, dishes or towels) in product packages.						
6. Authoring publications which incorporate the work of other scholars without acknowledgement.						
7. Homogenizing milk.						

Schedule No. _____

-4-

Practices	Scale of Approval					
	Strongly Approve	Mildly Approve	Neither approve nor disapprove. It makes no difference to you.	Mildly Disapprove	Strongly Disapprove	
8. Moving to a new university or position while involved in uncompleted research or other unfulfilled academic obligations.						
9. The hiring of an ex-general by a business firm for a public relations position, in preference to someone with professional public relations experience.						
10. An individual publishing substantially the same research results in a number of different scholarly journals.						
11. Curtailing the manufacture of replacement parts in order to concentrate on the production of new products.						
12. Taking short cuts in academic research in order to get out the results.						

IV.

1. You indicated that you _____ of universities promoting or advertising their athletic teams. Would you please explain why you feel this way about it?
2. You indicated that you _____ of marketing a product before conclusive quality tests have been completed. Would you please explain why you feel this way about it?
3. You indicated that you _____ of marketing a product which is virtually identical to an already patented product, without authorization. Would you please explain why you feel this way about this?
4. You indicated that you _____ of the hiring by a university of a "name" in research for a teaching position in preference to someone with broad teaching experience. Why do you feel this way?
5. You indicate _____ you _____ issues in product packages. Why do you feel this way about this practice?

6. You indicated that you _____ of authoring publications which incorporate the work of other scholars without acknowledgement. Would you please explain why you feel this way about it?

7. You indicated that you _____ of homogenizing milk. Would you please explain why?

8. You indicated that you _____ of moving to a new university or position while involved in uncompleted research or other unfulfilled academic obligations. Why do you feel this way about this?

9. You indicated that you _____ of the hiring of an ex-general by a business firm for a public relations position, in preference to someone with professional public relations experience. Would you please explain why you feel this way?

10. You indicated that you _____ of an individual publishing substantially the same research results in a number of different scholarly journals. Why do you feel this way about this practice?

11. You indicated that you _____ of curtailing the manufacture of replacement parts in order to concentrate on the production of new products. Would you please tell us why you feel this way?

12. You indicated that you _____ of taking short cuts in academic research in order to get out the results. Why do you feel this way?

V. We would also like to have your opinion on several other issues about which people sometimes disagree. Would you please indicate which item in each pair of statements you consider to be more important, or which you more nearly agree with?

1. The individual must be able to sacrifice his personal values for the good of the group. The individual must be able to maintain his personal values in spite of group pressure.
2. Each enterprise should be allowed complete freedom of production, regardless of its effect on the national economy and the general welfare. In the interest of the general welfare, the national economy should be stabilized at a high level, even if this means restrictions on some industries.
3. A minister ought to be allowed to select his own car, even if his parishioners disapprove. A congregation ought to be able to restrict the choice of a minister's car in the interest of appearances.
4. Parents should establish their own definite rules for their children without regard to how much freedom other children are allowed. Parents should take into consideration the amount of freedom other children are allowed when deciding on limitations for their own children.
5. I want my wife to wear the most flattering clothes possible, even if they are not of the latest style. I want my wife always to be stylishly dressed in the latest fashions, even if they are not the most flattering.
6. Most problems can be solved by a committee more adequately than by an individual. Most problems can be solved by an individual more adequately than by a committee.
7. What a person does with his own property is entirely his own business. A person should consult his neighbors before doing anything with his property which might affect them.
8. A person should read what he enjoys, regardless of whether or not it is popular among his friends and associates. A person should read what is popular among his friends and associates, regardless of his personal likes and dislikes.
9. Superior technical performance on the job is the most important thing in job satisfaction. Getting along with one's associates is the most important thing in job satisfaction.
10. Children should be brought up to make their own decisions. Children should be brought up to consult their friends and associates whenever possible before making a decision.
11. In selecting a car, a person should carefully consider whether or not it fits his position. In selecting a car, a person should consider only his own personal tastes.

VI. Would you please check each item which you feel is true?

1. I always follow the rule: business before pleasure.
2. Most people are honest chiefly through fear of being caught.
3. Compared to your own self-respect, the respect of others means very little.
4. I like to fool around with new ideas, even if they turn out later to be a total waste of time.
5. I often feel as though I have done something wrong or wicked.
6. I don't like to work on a problem unless there is a possibility of coming out with a clear-cut and unambiguous answer.
7. It is unusual for me to express strong approval or disapproval of the actions of others.
8. A person needs to "show off" a little now and then.
9. Sometimes I rather enjoy going against the rules and doing things I'm not supposed to.
10. At times I have been so entertained by the cleverness of a crook that I have hoped he would get by with it.
11. The trouble with many people is that they don't take things seriously enough.
12. Once I have made up my mind I seldom change it.
13. I am often so annoyed when someone tries to get ahead of me in a line of people that I speak to him about it.
14. I am in favor of very strict enforcement of all laws, no matter what the consequences.

APPENDIX B
SUMMARY OF SCORES

BUSINESS SAMPLE

Subject	Reference group other- direction score	Non- reference group other- direction score	Group- orientation score (Number of "Group" responses)	Conformity score (Number of "Conformity" responses)
1	8	9	4	2
2	3	2	2	1
3	7	8	4	3
4	2	10	4	4
5	5	6	2	2
6	6	6	7	2
7	5	5	4	2
8	9	5	4	2
9	8	5	4	4
10	3	7	5	4
11	4	1	4	0
12	7	4	5	4
13	8	1	6	3
14	7	4	6	2
15	9	10	5	2
16	2	6	4	3
17	1	7	3	3
18	1	7	4	4
19	1	8	3	3
20	5	2	3	3
21	3	5	3	1
22	5	8	3	1
23	6	5	6	1
24	4	6	5	1
25	8	5	6	6
26	4	6	5	4
27	3	5	7	1
28	6	6	6	6
29	6	9	5	4
30	6	10	9	4

ACADEMIC SAMPLE

Subject	Reference group other direction score	Non- reference group other- direction score	Group- orientation score (Number of "Group" responses)	Conformity score (Number of "Conformity" responses)
1	6	7	1	4
2	8	8	5	4
3	4	6	3	0
4	3	9	3	0
5	5	4	0	3
6	6	10	0	0
7	4	6	1	0
8	4	9	0	0
9	7	7	2	0
10	4	7	3	0
11	3	8	3	0
12	5	6	3	0
13	7	7	3	0
14	4	7	1	0
15	3	8	5	0
16	4	8	6	1
17	2	7	2	1
18	2	5	4	1
19	3	4	2	1
20	3	5	5	1
21	5	6	3	0
22	7	6	2	1
23	6	7	1	0
24	3	8	0	3
25	5	6	2	0
26	6	6	1	3
27	9	5	2	1
28	4	9	2	1
29	2	6	4	1
30	6	2	3	1
	-2			

ACADEMIC SAMPLE

Subject	Reference group other direction score	Non- reference group other- direction score	Group- orientation score (Number of "Group" responses)	Conformity score (Number of "Conformity" responses)
1	6	7	1	4
2	8	8	5	4
3	4	6	3	0
4	3	9	3	0
5	5	4	0	3
6	6	10	0	0
7	4	6	1	0
8	4	9	0	0
9	7	7	2	0
10	4	7	3	0
11	3	8	3	0
12	5	6	3	0
13	7	7	3	0
14	4	7	1	0
15	3	8	5	0
16	4	8	6	1
17	2	7	2	1
18	2	5	4	1
19	3	4	2	1
20	3	5	5	1
21	5	6	3	0
22	7	6	2	1
23	6	7	1	0
24	3	8	0	3
25	5	6	2	0
26	6	6	1	3
27	9	5	2	1
28	4	9	2	1
29	2	6	4	1
30	6	2	3	1
	-2			